1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

538 clans and tribes, or of the Kazakh nation. Through the efforts of
533 Russian ethnographers, a vast number of ancient legends, songs, and epics have been preserved which are the property not only of the wandering bards but of the whole nation, parts of them being known to every nomad. Many of the epics are not purely national in character, but are handed from people to people. Thus there are many epics which are equally famous among the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz, or the Kazakhs and the Oirat.

The Kazakhs are an extremely musical people and the song and the epos which are sung by wandering improvising singers to the accompaniment of a primitive stringed instrument, the *dombra*, represent the greater part of their folklore heritage. Every phase of life is recorded in songs: birth, marriage, battle, joy, unhappiness, death. The nineteenth century Kazakh writer and educator Abai Kunanbaev characterized the importance of the song in the life of the Kazakh nation in a poem in which he said:

> The song will open the door to the world for you
> The song will open the door of death for you.
> Listen to it, Kazakh, follow its wisdom.
> The song travels with you all your life.[41]

Songs are not only sung and spread by the wandering professional bards, but are part of the daily life of the people. A popular part of a Kazakh celebration is the singing competition between two individuals. In such duels, both the words and music are entirely improvised and the winner is the one who can improvise the longest.

533 Of particular interest are the prescribed songs, sung on occa-
●585 sions such as weddings and funerals, which provide a striking
538 insight into the cultural and social life of the people. These, in contrast to the other songs of the Kazakhs, have fixed texts and music. Thus the traditional wedding song (*Zhar-Zhar*) clearly reflects the role of the woman in society. The majority of wedding songs have dramatic content and consist of a dialoguelike singing

[41] Abdykalykov and Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

between a group of young girls and a group of young men. They echo the old custom of bride purchase, marriage often against the will of the partners, the inheritance of the wife of the deceased by his successor in the family, and in general the totally subordinate position of the woman. The gay chorus of the young men asks the girl to hurry with the marriage. This is answered by the sad chorus of the girls, bewailing their loss of freedom.

Other traditional forms are the farewell song (*koshtasu*), the song of sad news (*estirtu*), and the mourning song (*zhoktau*). The farewell song has many variations, as have the other traditional songs. It might be composed by a dying father or mother, telling the family of last wishes, speaking of the heaviness of parting from life and of unfulfilled dreams. Another favorite type of farewell song is the farewell to the family and the native land. In the period of forced migrations due to outside aggression, these songs were particularly widespread. Thus for instance there is preserved today a farewell song, composed by the famous eighteenth century *akyn* (bard) Bukhar Zhirau on the occasion of the forced migration of a group of the Kazakhs from their traditional grazing grounds as a result of pressure from the Jungars:

A caravan is marching from the heights of the Kara Tau . . .
How hard it is to bid good-by to our native land!
Tears stream from dark eyes . . .
What times must we live in! Oh, times of misery!
The tears from my eyes form seas and lakes.
What times of hardship!
Happiness and richness have forsaken us.
Dust rises from the wandering caravan —
Worse than the icy storms of December.[42]

As among other nomads, tales and legends play a great role among the Kazakhs. While Kazakh tales show the strong influence of neighboring cultures, and particularly of the *Arabian Nights*, there are also many original tales of magic, animal tales — which

[42] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171.

Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture. 175 814

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur, and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Ha-mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan.. 186

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan. 795

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung*, or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove 142 302 [582] 585 000

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

fire, a man was cooking an entire sheep; in another direction five men were saying their evening prayers; twelve young lambs were tied up in a row in another part of the *aq-oi* and all the rest of the room was taken up by the fat Beg who sat warming his feet at the fire and sipping a bowl of tea!"

The Kizmak Pass next day proved terribly steep and some 14,000 feet high, but the magnificent yaks provided by the Kirghiz carried our loads up it (though with many halts and tremendous puffings and gruntings). They then tobogganed neatly down the still steeper descent on the west side, which contained snow and showed signs of recent avalanches. The glorious view from the top, including the whole mountain-system of the upper and middle Qaratash, kept us there nearly two hours; though unfortunately it was too late in the day for either Qungur or Muz Tagh Ata to be free from clouds, and my telephotographs were not successful. A long day ended with a six-mile canter against a howling north wind down the broad flat bottom of the Qaratash Valley to Chat, where we were relieved to find our caravan waiting for us and our tents pitched. Six inches of snow fell that night, but next morning it cleared up and I decided to halt a day, which I spent in plane-tabling and telephotographing the magnificent snows of Qungur and the Shiwakte from the heights above Chat.

Next day (12th April) we started the march down the Qaratash Gorges, to which I had been looking forward with some apprehension. The worst part does not begin till below the junction of the Qaratash and Chimghan valleys, six miles below Chat, but even in this six miles the valley narrows considerably and the river has to be forded seven times. Four miles below Chat, at a place called Bek Targhak, we had the unexpected pleasure of assisting at a Kirghiz wedding feast. Forty or fifty Kirghiz, including several women, were gathered at a mud-walled enclosure in which four *aq-ois* were pitched; they invited us through the Beg to come in, and next moment we found ourselves sitting in a crowded *aq-oi* chewing portions of a sheep which was being stewed at the fire in the middle. Asking which were the happy pair, we were informed that neither of them was present, it being the custom throughout the *nikah* or wedding feast for the bride and bridegroom to stay in their respective tents in the background. D. was taken in to see the lady and reported afterwards that she was a woman

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585 [587] of about twenty-five who was marrying for the second time; her late husband had been the first cousin of the present bridegroom, who was marrying her as next-of-kin according to a common practice among the Kirghiz.[1]

We had no little difficulty in tearing ourselves away from the hospitable Kirghiz, who evidently considered we had brought luck to the happy pair. The revelry was still in its early stages, and every moment more and more guests arrived, some riding two on a pony or camel, others striding through the sleet on foot. We did our best in the way of wedding presents, but all the coloured scarves, woollen gloves, bead necklaces, hunting-knives and other treasures we had brought had already been distributed among the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh and other places along the road. However, we left the bridegroom very happy with a small cash present and the bride radiant with a magnificent pair of diamond and pink pearl ear-rings which D. had bought for the equivalent of about a shilling at a Hindu shop in Yarkand.

487 Eventually, after I had photographed the family party in the *aq-oi*, as well as the entire assembly outside, we escaped and made our way after the caravan as fast as the rough track would let us. Two miles lower down we came to the junction of the Chimghan and Qaratash rivers and looked longingly up the fine wide valley of the former stream. Its flat bottom was fully a mile broad with meadows, cultivation and willow woods; as the sky cleared and the mists ro[illegible] we caught glimpses of magnificent snowy ranges rising ten thousand feet above it on either side. No European but our one predecessor, Stein, had so much as looked up it, and even he had not explored it. I would have given much to spend two or three days camping up the Chimghan Jilgha, which I knew would lead me into the inmost fastnesses of Qungur and the mysterious Shiwakte; but I dared not. In mid-April the summer floods might come down any day, and it was inadvisable to r[illegible] the risk of being trapped by them in the middle of the [illegible]eaded Qaratash gorges. As it was, the combined waters of the Chimghan and Qaratash streams, which we had to cross thirty-one times before we at last emerged upon the plains at Altunluk, were only just fordable by our baggage-ponies; our bedding and boxes of clothes we loaded on two or three camels which the Kirghiz produced, steady sure-footed

[1] For an account of the marriage customs of the Kirghiz in the Alps of Qungur, see Chapter XI.

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584 the price is fixed at ten yaks; the boy's father pays a first annual instalment of one yak, the girl's father gives the boy in return a shirt or a coat as a token of the betrothal, and the *qalam* is complete. It may, however, be broken off at 585 any time before the *nikah* by mutual consent, in which case the instalments paid are refunded. When all the yaks have been paid and the young couple have reached the ages of, say, fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbours to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom do not attend this "wedding breakfast," remaining in their tents in the background all day. The 591 feast and announcement, known as the *nikah*, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. The bridegroom, 585 however, cannot yet take his bride away to his own home. She continues to live for a period varying from two to five months with her parents, during which time the latter make and furnish an *aq-oi* with its felts, rugs, wall-hangings, screens, pots, pans, cushions, milk-bowls and other appurtenances complete for the young people. During this period the bridegroom lives at his own home if near, otherwise in an *aq-oi* lent him by the bride's parents, and visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposed to be kept secret from her father, who must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving the bride's tent. During the whole of this period the bridegroom must never appear before his father-in-law unless he is wearing his caps and boots and has his stick in his hand, as if he were a stranger from afar. At this stage if the bride is unfaithful (but not otherwise) the bridegroom's father can demand the price back and break off the match. When the *aq-oi* is finished, the bridegroom takes it and the bride away to his own place, on which occasion some show of resistance is made by the girl's relations—an obvious survival of the marriage by capture idea. After a year (not before) the wife can "give a divorce" to her husband by returning him the price paid for her—exactly the reverse of what happens in the plains, where it is the husband who (if he likes) "gives" a divorce to his wife.

600 At last the time came to bid the Happy Valley and our Kirghiz friends a sad farewell; for we did not expect to be able to visit it again the following year before going down the road to India, as we eventually did. We did not, however, return to the plains by the way we had come. Old Samsaq Bai, the Kirghiz who had come to our rescue on the way up and

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Ramazan fast, and at Qurban, the schoolmaster receives two tengas. During the winter months each child brings one stick of firewood, as well as one *dachin* as its contribution to the expense of papering the windows of the schoolroom; most of these "perks" are retained by the schoolmaster. The "teaching" consists merely in making the children sing the lesson over and over again at the top of their voices, all together, until it is known by heart; the more noise a school makes, the higher the reputation of the schoolmaster.

The conditions of the "marriage market" and many of the matrimonial customs of the Eastern Turkis differ widely from those obtaining among the Kirghiz of the mountains, described in Chapter XI above. Instead of being at a premium, women are at a discount and no bride-price is paid. For a man, marriage is easy and cheap, and divorce even easier and cheaper. Among the agricultural classes, which form the large majority of the population, a man has seldom more than one wife at a time; but in the cities many men have at least two, always, be it noted, living in different towns or in different quarters of the same town. The harem system is unknown and would be impossible in Kashgar, owing to the quarrelsomeness of the women. The marriage age for girls is 12–14, for boys 15–16. The matches are always arranged between the respective parents, the wishes of the young people not being consulted. D. noticed at Kashgar that there was a great deal of rivalry among mothers about getting their daughters married off at the earliest possible age; even among the children themselves, a girl who reaches the age of fourteen without a husband is unmercifully chaffed by her companions. On the other hand, the Indian custom of not allowing a boy to see his fiancée until the wedding-day does not exist in Chinese Turkistan; the children have often known and played with each other for years.

A certain amount of ceremony and importance attaches to a girl's first *toi* or marriage. Her parents give a party to all the neighbours; the *imam* and *mu'azzin* are again present, and the bride and bridegroom eat together bread dipped in salt and water. Food and money are also given to the beggars and fees to the mullas; the bride receives a trousseau of clothes, jewellery and household utensils (*toiluk*), the bridegroom a coat and a pair of boots. The total expenses of a

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585 wedding, incurred almost entirely by the bride's people (the bridegroom's contribution is nominal), amount to anything from 30–50 taels (£4–£6 13s. 4d.), in the case of poor people to 2,000 taels (£233) or more, in that of the very rich. The only liability (and that merely a nominal one) incurred by the bridegroom is the *haqq-i-mihr* or settlement on his wife.[1] This varies between fifty and a thousand taels and is usually fixed verbally before the *uttuz-oghle*. It is regarded as a debt which may theoretically be claimed by the wife at any time up to her death; but it never is claimed except at divorce. In many cases the *mihr* is waived; in more than one "divorce case" which came before me the husband claimed that his wife had let him off the *mihr* at the wedding, whereupon she challenged him to produce members of the *uttuz-oghle* to prove it.[2]

From the house of the bride's parents to that of the bridegroom a small party, accompanied by musicians, marches in procession through the streets, with the lady in front either riding a pony or donkey or walking, as the case may be. Arrived at her new home, the bride is not supposed to touch the threshold with her feet; she is lifted over it by her husband and his relations. However thankful she may be to get her daughter "off," the mother of the bride is obliged by custom to weep and wail loudly during the marriage ceremonies; the girl, too, laments (probably with more sincerity) at leaving the home of her childhood. I took down the words of their traditional laments, which are rather pretty:[3]

[1] The *haqq-i-mihr* must not be confused with the maintenance payable for a hundred days by a husband to a wife whom he divorces against her will. Grenard (Vol. II, p. 119) says that the "*mehr*" found in other Mussulman countries is an *institution presque hors d'usage dans le Turkestan chinois*; this is correct so far as it goes, but it should be added that its existence is universally recognized, if only as a legal fiction.

[691] [2] Such disputes, like most civil and many criminal cases, are settled by the parties being sent to the Qazi or Mussulman judge, who hears the evidence and either passes judgment at once or orders one party or the other to take the oath; as a rule, the party on whom the oath comes refuses to take it and loses the case, for it is regarded as a disgrace to swear on the Qur'an. *Qasam-khor* ("oath-eater") is a term of abuse, meaning a greedy or litigious person who sticks at nothing to win his case.

[3] Grenard (*Vol. II, p. 250*) has the mother's lament, not the daughter's, for which I am indebted to Murad Qari.

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Mother's Song

Kichik kina, qara kuz	Little tiny dark-eyed one
Wai balam!	Alas, my child!
Tili tatliq, shirin suz	Sweet of tongue, O silvery voice
Wai balam!	Alas, my child!
Balam mandin airilde	My child is taken from me
Wai balam!	Alas, my child!
Uida yalghuz qalarman,	In the house I am left alone,
Wai balam, balam!	Alas, my child! my child!

Daughter's Song

Man anamdin airilip	Torn from my mother's side
Sunde qanatim qaralip;	My wings are broken and bent;
Man yiglamae, kim yiglasun	Who may weep, if not I
Janim anamdin airilip?	Torn from my darling mother's side?

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Some days after the actual wedding two parties are given by the bride's family, if well-off, one for the men and the other for the ladies. The following is an account by D. of a wedding party she attended in the women's apartments of a wealthy household at Kashgar. It was by no means the first social function at which she assisted, for she frequently entertained and was entertained by the Kashgari wives of friends or dependants of the Consulate-General. Thanks to the colloquial knowledge of the language which she acquired, she thus became familiar with the feminine side of Turki social life, a subject on which I have found no first-hand information in any of the books I have read about Chinese Turkistan.

"I rode to Y—— K——'s town house on Camel Sulaiman, followed in a Chinese cart by Aisha Khan resplendent in a new dress, a purple velvet jacket embroidered with silver and a black and gold cap. When we arrived a servant conducted us through a narrow passage to the door of the inner court-yard of the house, where the bridegroom's mother and some of her friends and relations came out to receive us. The party had started at about half-past nine in the morning, and as it was now eleven most of the guests had already arrived and the women musicians were seated in a corner waiting to strike up. The room was large and whitewashed, and the guests in their gorgeous dresses sitting all round against the walls on quilts and gaily-coloured rugs made a wonderful blaze of colour.

"Some sat cross-legged but most in the usual Turki position, i.e. sitting on their heels with their knees on the ground. Most of the women were wearing their wedding clothes and ornaments, consisting of velvet gold-embroidered caps of different colours, satin coats trimmed with Indian cloth of gold, bright-hued silk skirts and highly polished black boots like riding-boots. In front of their caps they wore a big

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spray of beaten-gold flowers quivering on gold wire stalks, bunches of similar ornaments above each ear and huge gold filigree earrings. Their hair was in plaits, with a long black silk tassel attached to each plait. The dresses were of red, blue, emerald, plum, purple, pink and many other bright tints, and the sunlight streaming through the one window lit up a most wonderful picture.

"Two chairs had been placed side by side at one end of the room, one for me and one for the bride when she should come. One of the guests who came soon after me was another little bride, some relation of the family but not the girl for whose wedding the party was given. I was told that it was only her second appearance in public since her wedding, and it was perhaps for this reason that her reception was particularly pretty. All the ladies stood up, and as she was led from one to the other each gave her a kiss and shook hands Turki fashion, i.e. taking her clasped hands in theirs and then touching their own lips with a graceful gesture. She was only fifteen, I think, and terribly shy to begin with. She was led up to me and placed in the chair next mine for a few minutes, but she soon slid on to the floor and sat beside her younger sister, a talkative child of eleven who had been told off to fan me. A few belated guests were ushered in, and having shaken hands all round, were assisted to take off their outdoor caps and veils and immediately presented by our hostess with brand-new indoor caps, which unlike the outdoor ones have no fur or lining. Some of the women had brought their own and politely refused the offer of a new one; but it must add considerably to the expense of giving a party when you have to provide indoor caps to guests who have forgotten theirs! Tea was served, soon after I arrived in small china cups with sugar and no milk. Our hostess and her relations had none themselves, but spent their time handing round cups, filling them up with tea and spooning in sugar. There was one lady whom I could not take my eyes off, she was such a wonderful figure in her crimson satin dress with eight long plaits of hair hanging down from under her richly-embroidered cap, and fastened on to four of these long black silk tassels which swept the ground as she moved about. After the cups had been cleared away the musicians struck up and some of the ladies rose and danced in the usual way, one at a time; but soon the long narrow *dastarkhwans* or cloths spread on the ground for eating were put out once more and huge trays of peaches and nectarines were brought in. These disappeared in a marvellously short time and were followed by some more music and dancing, and at about half-past twelve the wedding feast began in earnest. The first course was a very popular one called the Wedding Dish, a sort of soufflé made of stiffly-beaten white of egg and powdered sugar, which is always eaten at weddings. It was served in small bowls with pieces of bread. The arrival of this dish was a signal for a temporary relaxation of the intense decorum which had hitherto characterized the proceedings. The children who had come with their mammas, and who had up to now been playing in the court-yard, crowded into the room or leant in through the wide windows, clamouring for some of the Wedding Dish. The heat became terrific. The hostess had disappeared, presumably to superintend the preparation of the special dishes which were to be served later on. The lady of the eight pigtails and other friends of the family, having

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changed their beautiful but hot satin dresses for simpler affairs of thin silk and muslin, hurried about refilling the bowls, breaking up the bread into suitable-sized pieces and looking after everybody, while two maids did their best to keep us all cool by flapping a large table-cloth in the middle of the room. When the last of the Wedding Dish had been finished, the *dastarkhwans* were taken out to be shaken and we all had our hands washed Mussulman fashion; copper jugs and basins were brought in, and as each of us in turn held out our sticky hands the ladies of the house poured water over them into the basins. Huge piles of round flat loaves of bread about eighteen inches across then appeared and were placed at intervals opposite the guests. Next came large flat dishes of a savoury stew of mutton and vegetables, which was rapidly spooned up by the ladies with corners of bread. Titbits and succulent little bones with meat on them were handed through the window by fond mammas to their clamouring children. When this course was finished there were still a good many of the flat loaves remaining and these were distributed among the guests. One was rather tentatively offered to me; I accepted it joyfully, which was considered a great joke. Fruit, sweets and tea followed, and when everything had been cleared away and another hand-washing had taken place, the musicians struck up again.

"The women danced and I found myself in conversation with a plump elderly dame, the mother of a leading ice-merchant, who was giving Aisha Khan and myself a graphic description of the illness and last moments of her first husband; I did not notice therefore that most of the older ladies had left the room, and it was only when Aisha Khan whispered 'They've gone to fetch the bride,' that I awoke to the fact that satin dresses and velvet jackets had been resumed and every one was looking expectantly towards the door. A few minutes later, surrounded by elderly relatives and friends, the bride appeared. I gasped, for there in the afternoon sunlight which streamed through the windows stood a tall slim figure clad in glittering gold from head to foot. A long coat of gold brocade hid her satin dress, a veil of golden gauze fell round her face and down her back, great sprays of gold flower ornaments quivered in her cap and long earrings of gold and pearls and a heavy chain and pendant of the same metal completed her adornment. She might have been a bride for Tamerlane or some such great Emperor of the olden days! A thin white silk veil was thrown over her face and head, and she was led up to the chair beside mine with great ceremony and made to sit down. Poor thing, she was so nervous that her breath came in gasps and her hands when I touched them were icy cold. All the guests drew back, then a little girl of about four was pushed forward and running up to the bride snatched away the white veil. This was the signal for a regular outburst, all the guests screaming and laughing and chattering at the same time, and then falling on the bride and kissing her. When this, evidently the most important part of the ceremony, was over I thought it was about time to go, as it was nearly four o'clock.

"What strikes me most about these women is their manners, which are as pretty as their clothes. When the hostess gives tea or anything else to one of her guests, the latter rises and bows saying '*Ashkalla*' (thank you). On arrival and departure they make delicious little polite speeches to each other—much more picturesque than our mean-

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585 576 ingless 'How do you do?' They have nice smiling cheery faces and a way of appearing pleased to see one, which is most disarming. Some of them are startlingly beautiful in the regular Aryan style, with pencilled eyebrows, straight noses and oval faces; others have broad, rather flat faces like the Kirghiz, but laughter comes so easily to them that even the plain faces become attractive."

586 In nine cases out of ten, according to Murad Qari, these child-marriages *de convenance* are failures and soon dissolved. For the husband, there is no difficulty about a divorce; all he has to do is to go to the Qazi—the woman's presence is not necessary—and put his seal on an affidavit (*jai*) to the effect that he divorces his wife; this affidavit costs him two tengas (4*d*.) and the thing is done. Lawful conditions and terms, if any, are included in the *jai*, which also states whether the divorce is to be *ba'in* (permanent) or *raja'i* (non-binding).[1]

A wife cannot divorce her husband without his consent; all she can do is to leave him and wait till he divorces her, when she can marry some one else after 100 days. As he can marry again at once and as often as he likes up to a total number of four wives at a time, he is in a strong position and can exact his own terms. These generally include the waiving of the *mihr*, and as low a figure as possible for the maintenance of the woman and any children there may be. In most cases it is the woman who is the suppliant, and the man who "gives her a paper," i.e. *jai* or affidavit of divorce. Sometimes she pays quite a large sum for it; but this is illegal and must not be mentioned in the *jai*. In other cases she induces the man to let her go by giving up the furniture and utensils she brought with her to his house.

586 595 Let me give one or two illustrations of the working of this curious system. Our coachman, Abdulla, was a much-married man. He went one better than the celebrated guard on the Paris-Lyons-Méditerranée, who had one wife and establishment in Paris and another at Marseilles, each unaware of the other's existence; for he kept a wife at Yarkand (whither he often accompanied us on tour) and *two* at Kashgar, one of them living at the Consulate and the other in the town. All went well until one day news reached the Consulate wife not only that the Yarkand lady existed, but that she proposed coming to Kashgar. As Mrs. Abdulla No. 1 wailed to D., "It's bad enough his marrying that dreadful person in

[1] From the Arabic root *raja'a*, "return," the wife being lawfully permitted to re-marry the same husband. After *ba'in* divorce this is illegal.

/The New Uighurs/

563 [184] [583] [584] The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding expenses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usually occupies a higher social position than either the bride or groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is [586] a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a consid- [589] erable number of women without family attachments are present in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified with the household of their employer.

563 621 182 [181] In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character. However, the structure of the community with its irrigational problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts. The families that form such an Uighur community are by no means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective effort and labor the community would perish.

563 [561] Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur communities, since in any Islamic community the male child begins to participate in the activities centered around the mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of [585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive [885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his wife work as members of the extended family group. A young merchant usually will act as his father's representative until the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 441 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts, he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even though he may have moved to another community. In each locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 166 241 425 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation projects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied areas.

563 198 New industries and the further development of natural resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

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548 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. Travellers who are separated
[588] from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

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582 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

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584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former
[583] issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. The young man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

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585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

563 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious repre-
585 sentatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities. Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's
[152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother, who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure. The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the threshhold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days, after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

563 Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's fam-
585 ily, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after
885 she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her becoming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privileges and social position which were barred to her as a very young woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

563 In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and
586 soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a divorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evidence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman
[587] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days, after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When 563 584 a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a [583] leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

N 121 59 [779] IV. The Chinese Moslems

Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N 769 *563 778

N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 563 585 [791] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 563 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

S N 563 764 d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[935] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[367] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
[152] bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather